

Message Text

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47

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 NEA-14 ISO-00 IO-14 AID-20 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 OMB-01

ABF-01 DPW-01 ACDA-19 DRC-01 /183 W
----- 090280

R 031035Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0343

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USDEL JEC PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 4494

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PL, HU, VS, US

SUBJECT: POLAND AND THE ICCS

1. DURING HIS CALL ON VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI ON AUGUST 2, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARMITAGE MADE A STRONG DEMARCHE FOR FULLER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT IN AN EFFORT TO REDUCE THE VIOLENCE IN VIETNAM TO A MORE ACCEPTABLE LEVEL. ARMITAGE SAID THAT THE COUNTRIES WHICH ACCEPTED MEMBERSHIP ON THE ICCS UNDERTOOK AN OBLIGATION TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN REDUCING THE VIOLENCE AND DETERRING THE RENEWAL OF ALL-OUT WARFARE BY CONDUCTING IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT BY EITHER SIDE. FAILURE TO FULFILL THIS OBLIGATION WOULD BE REGRETTABLE BOTH FOR VIETNAM AND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE OF THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH A POTENTIAL CONSEQUENT COLLAPSE OF THE ICCS.

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2. SPECIFICALLY, ARMITAGE CALLED FOR POLAND TO RETURN

ITS TEAMS TO FIVE SITES WHICH THEY ABANDONED IN SEPTEMBER 1973 BECAUSE OF AN AIR AMERICA THREAT TO CANCEL HELICOPTER SERVICE AS A RESULT OF ICCS NON-PAYMENT OF MOUNTING BILLS. AIR AMERICA HAD LONG AGO WITHDRAWN ITS CANCELLATION THREAT, AND, SINCE THE QUESTION OF SECURITY HAD NOT ARISEN IN THESE CASES, EARLY RETURN OF POLES AND HUNGARIANS SHOULD BE POSSIBLE. THE INDONESIANS AND IRANIANS ARE STILL AT ALL OF THOSE SITES. ARMITAGE ASKED ALSO THAT THE POLES AGREE TO ACCEPT AN IRANIAN/INDONESIAN PROPOSAL TO LOOK INTO THE SECURITY OF THREE OTHER SITES FROM WHICH THEY HAD WITHDRAWN, ALLEGING LACK OF SECURITY. HE NOTED THAT THE IRANIANS AND THE INDONESIANS HAD REMAINED THERE WITHOUT ENCOUNTERING MAJOR PROBLEMS. FINALLY, STRESSING THE NEED FOR THE CONDUCT OF ACTIVE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE, ARMITAGE URGED THAT PRIORITY BE GIVEN TO INVESTIGATIONS--OF BOTH SIDES. WITH THE BEST EFFORTS OF THE FOUR PARTIES, THIS FUNCTION COULD READILY BE FULFILLED.

3. IN REPLY, SPASOWSKI SAID HE WAS NOT ACQUAINTED WITH THE LATEST INFORMATION ON THE ICCS BECAUSE HE HAD NOT KNOWN THIS SUBJECT WOULD BE DISCUSSED. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT HE HAD HAD FREQUENT DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR DAVIES ON THE ICCS AND SAID THAT THE POLES HAD DEVELOPED FREQUENT WORKING CONTACTS WITH US ON THE ICCS, BOTH IN WARSAW AND IN SAIGON. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE MENTIONED PRATT BYRD'S VISIT AS HAVING BEEN HELPFUL. HE OBSERVED THAT THESE FREQUENT EXCHANGES HAVE HELPED US TO UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER'S POSITIONS.

4. SPASOWSKI SAID POLAND HAD WITHDRAWN ITS PERSONNEL FROM SOME SITES BECAUSE OF SECURITY CONCERNS, WHICH IS NOT AN EASY DETERMINATION TO MAKE AND CAN BE THE SOURCE OF HONEST DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS. HE INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT SECURITY HAD BEEN THE ONLY CONSIDERATION FOR WITHDRAWAL. HE SAID THAT THE LOSS OF LIFE OF ANY OF THE POLES ON THE ICCS WOULD RAISE THE QUESTION OF CONTINUED POLISH PARTICIPATION ON THE ICCS. LUCKILY, THIS HADN'T HAPPENED AND HE DIDN'T FORESEE ANY

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FURTHER WITHDRAWALS UNLESS A GREATER THREAT TO SECURITY ARISES, WHICH THE POLES DO NOT EXPECT.

5. SPASOWSKI SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A GENERAL OBSERVATION. IT SEEMED TO THE POLES THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS GETTING MORE DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF COOPERATION AND EVEN OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE SIDES. THIS WORRIES THE POLES BECAUSE THEY

HAD HOPED TO HELP FACILITATE SUCH CONTACTS. THEY HAD THOUGHT THE AMERICAN SIDE WANTED THEM TO DO THIS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE SITUATION HAS DEVELOPED IN A RATHER DIFFERENT DIRECTION. THEY SEE MUCH LESS CONTACT NOW THAN THERE USED TO BE. IT SEEMS TO THE POLES THAT THIS SITUATION MIGHT LAST FOREVER AND IN THIS ATMOSPHERE THERE MIGHT BE MORE FIGHTING AND MORE LOSS OF LIFE. WHAT CAN THE ICCS DO IN THIS SITUATION? THERE MUST BE SOME DEGREE OF COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE VIETNAMESE SIDES FOR THE ICCS TO PERFORM ITS ROLE. SPASOWSKI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ICCS IS NOT DOING VERY MUCH, BUT MAINTAINED THAT IT IS THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN VIETNAM WHICH HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THIS SITUATION.

6. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE TEAM WITHDRAWALS, AMBASSADOR DAVIES SAID THAT FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI HAD TOLD HIM ON JULY 4 THAT CONSIDERATION WAS BEING GIVEN TO SENDING SOME OF THE TEAMS BACK IF THE SECURITY SITUATION WARRANTED. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED IF ANY OF THE TEAMS HAD GONE BACK YET. SPASOWSKI SAID HE KNEW OF THE AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH OLSZOWSKI AND SAID THE MATTER HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED. SPASOWSKI ADDED EMPHATICALLY, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MORE WITHDRAWALS AND INCLUDED IN THIS ASSURANCE THE FOUR SITES FROM WHICH THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS HAD THREATENED WITHDRAWAL IN JUNE. ARMITAGE EMPHASIZED THAT HIS DEMARCHE HAD REFERENCE TO FIVE SITES WHERE SECURITY HAD NEVER BEEN THE ISSUE, TO INVESTIGATION OF THREE SITES WHERE A LACK OF SECURITY HAD BEEN ALLEGED, AND TO INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE ITSELF.

7. ARMITAGE ALSO EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN OVER ICCS
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FINANCES, POINTING OUT THAT THE US AND THE GVN HAVE MET THEIR ASSESSMENTS IN FULL, WHEREAS THE DRV AND THE PRG ARE BADLY IN ARREARS, CAUSING A SERIOUS FINANCIAL PROBLEM. SPASOWSKI SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH HE HAD TOLD THE AMBASSADOR OVER A WEEK AGO THAT HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE FINANCIAL QUESTION AND GIVE US A READING, HE HAD NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO DO SO. HOWEVER, HE PROMISED TO HAVE THIS FOR US NEXT WEEK.
DAVIES

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